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*177 369 156 829 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginalization (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual, ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group, etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as [124] [123] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun [121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme, regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it permits a more practical view of the problem of individual assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically congruent categories.

*177 369 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced from the detailed examination of the relations between the Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso. [167] [571] [829] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Whereas on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

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developed a superior technique, in combination with the great endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor. It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table" we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day, and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,

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of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification

Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

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3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under ths circumstances the children receibed the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b : 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,